

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: POSITIONS OF ALLIES -PART 3-FRG

1. IN RESPONSE TO DEPARTMENT'S REQUEST, WE TRANSMIT BELOW OUR CURRENT ESTIMATE OF PARTICULAR CONCERNS WHICH FRG HAS IN CSCE. WE HAVE NOT REPEAT NOT ATTEMPTED TO ELABORATE ON SUBJECTS WHICH ARE OF GENERAL CONCERN TO ALL OR MOST NATO ALLIES, AND OF WHICH THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE.

2. PRINCIPLES---

(A) GENERAL-- FRG SHARES GENERAL ALLIED GOALS IN THE PRINCIPLES, BUT THEIR FUNDAMENTAL DESIRE TO PRESERVE THEIR POSITIONS OF PRINCIPLE ON GERMANY AND BERLIN OUTWEIGHS ANDY DESIRE THEY MAY HAVE TO TRY TO ATTENUATE THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE, AS OTHER ALLIES WISH TO DO.

(B) OSTPOLITIK-- FRG APPROACH TO THE PRINCIPLES AND POSSIBLE MEASURES FOR THEIR IMPLEMENTATION IS DOMINATED BY NEED TO AVOID INTERNAL POLITICAL CRITICISM OF CONCESSIONS TO THE EAST ON ISSUES AFFECTING GERMANY, PARTICULARLY THE POSSIBILITY OF EVENTUAL REUNIFICATION. THIS HAS MEANT CONTINUING REVIEW, AND FREQUENT

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REVERSAL, OF FRG POSITIONS, AND RELUCTANCE TO JOIN

COMPROMISES WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR GERMAN ISSUES.

(C) PEACEFUL CHANGE-- FRG IS UNHAPPY OVER THE COMPROMISE REACHED LAST APRIL ON THE ISSUES OF INVIO-LABILITY OF FRONTIERS AND PEACEFUL CHANGE. THEY INDICATED THEIR RESRVARATIONS THEN AND ARE PREPARED TO REOPEN THE QUESTION AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME. THEY STATE THAT THEY HOPE EITHER TO INCORPORATE A STATEMENT ON PEACEFUL CHANGE IN THE PRINCIPLE OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS OR TO OBTAIN A MORE POSITIVE SENTENCE ON PEACEFUL CHANGE IN THE SOVEREIGN EQUALITY PRINCIPLE, ALONG THE LINES OF THAT TABLED BY THE US ON JULY 26. THE FRG HAS PERSUADED THE NINE TO SUPPORT THIS FORMULATION AND REFERS TO IT ORDINARILY AS THE "AMERICAN SENTENCE" IN ORDER TO AVOID THE IMPRESSION OF FRG ISOLATION ON THIS POINT. THE SOVIETS OPPOSE THE JULY 26 TEXT. WE HAVE ENCOURAGED BONN AND MOSCOW TO WORK OUT THEIR DIFFERENCES ON THIS BILATERALLY, BUT CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN THEM HAVE NOT YET BEGUN, AT THIS WRITING, TO OUR KNOWLEDGE.

(D) TERRITORIAL INTERGRITY--- ON TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, THE FRG WANTS EARLY PROVISIONAL REGISTRATION OF THE PRINCIPLE ALONG LINES OF A TEXT THEY HAVE WORKED OUR PRIVATELY WITH THE SOVIETS, WHICH IS ACCEPTABLE TO THE WARSAW PACT STATES, EXCEPT ROMANIA, AND TO MOST NATO ALLIES. HOWEVER, AMENDMENTS FROM THE DUTCH (RIGHT OF STATES TO CHANGE THEIR POLITICAL REGIMES) AND GREEKS (STATES SHOULD NOT ENCOURAGE THE DISMEMBERMENT OF OTHER STATES) MAY LEAD TO PROTRACTED DEBATE.

(E) ENEMY STATES CLAUSES-- FRG IS CONCERNED ABOUT POSSIBLE SOVIET MISUSE OF THE ENEMY STATES CLAUSES (ARTICLES 53 AND 107) OF THE UN CHARTER FOR INTERFERNECE IN INTERNAL FRG AFFAIRS. THEY HAVE THEREFORE BEEN RELUCTANT TO ACCEPT PROPOSALS FOR DIRECT REFERENCE TO THE UNCHARTER TO QUALIFY NON-USE OF FORCE LANGUAGE IN PRINCIPLES DECLARATION AND IN ROMANIAN PROPOSAL. THIS CONFLICTS WITH THEIR DESIRE, NOTED ABOVE, TO MAINTAIN INTEGRITY OF WESTERN LEGAL POSITIONS RE BERLIN.

(F) ROMANIAN PROPOSAL-- FRG HAS OPPOSED A SEPARATE DOCUMENT SPELLING OUT MEASURES FOR IMPLEMENTATION

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OF THE NON-USE OF FORCE PRINCIPLE, AND HAS SPECIAL PROBLEMS WITH ROMANIAN PARAGRAPH WHICH WOULD PROHIBIT ENTRY OR STATIONING OF TROOPS IN ANOTHER COUNTRY WITHOUT ITS CONSENT. FRG IS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED THAT SUCH A PROVISION COULD BE USED TO HAMPER MOVEMENT OF TROOPS ACROSS GDR TERRITORY TO BERLIN.

3. MILITARY ASPECTS--

(A) GENERAL--FRG SHARES GENERAL OBJECTIVE
OF NATO ALLIES TO HAVE SOME MODEST MILITARY CONTENT IN
CSCE, IN FORM OF MEANINGFUL AGREEMENT ON CBMS.

(B) MOVEMENTS-- LIKE OTHER ALLIES, FRG FAVORS
A CBM ON MOVEMENTS, BUT ARE RESIGNED THAT THIS IS NOT
POSSIBLE, AND HOPE WE CAN AGREE TO A A COMPROMISE FOR-
MULATION TO COUNTER THE SOVIET PROPOSAL LINKING THE
MOVEMENTS ISSUE TO FOLLOW-UP.

(C) NATURE OF COMMITMENT-- LIKE OTHER ALLIES,
FRG FAVORS UK FORMULATION FOR NATURE OF COMMITMENT ON
CBMS ("HAVE DECIDED THAT THEY WILL...") AND DO NOT
BELIEVE THIS ENTAILS A LEGAL OBLIGATION.

(D) AREA FOR CBMS-- FRG IS MOST STRONGLY OPPOSED
OF ALL ALLIES TO SOVIET BORDER-ZONE CONCEPT FOR AREA
OF APPLICATION FOR CBMS, AND STRONGLY FAVORS INCLUDING
LARGE PORTION OF EUROPEAN USSR WITHIN THE AREA. BROAD
AREA OF APPLICATION OF CBMS WOULD, IN FRG VIEW, SERVE
TO COUNTERACT POSSIBLE TENDENCY OF MBFR CONSTRAINTS
AND VERIFICATION MEASURES TO CONVERT GERMANY, DE FACTO,
INTO SPECIAL SECURITY ZONE IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

4. ECONOMICS-- EC-NINE SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE ON TRADE
ISSUES, WHICH COMprise THE BULK OF ECONOMIC SUBJECTS
IN CSCE. THEIR BASIC OBJECTIVE IS TO LIBERALIZE
EASTERN TRADE REGIMES WHILE RETAINING POSSIBILITIES
FOR USE OF PROTECTIVE DEVICES AGAINST POTENTIALLY
DAMAGING EASTERN TRADE PRACTICES.

5. SCIENCE FORUM-- FRG APPEARS TO HAVE ACCEPTED THAT
THE ONLY THING WHICH WILL RESULT FROM THEIR PROPOSAL
FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF A EUROPEAN SCIENCE FORUM WILL
BE A FUTURE MEETING OF EXPERTS TO STUDY THE IDEA.

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6. BASKET III--

(A) GENERAL-- FRG SHARES GENERAL ALLIED OBJECTIVE
OF OBTAINING SOME MEANINGFUL FREER MOVEMENT PROVISIONS,
PARTICULARLY UNDER HEADINGS OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION,
MARRIAGE, TRAVEL, AUDIO-VISUAL INFORMATION, AND WORKING
CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS.

(B) FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND MARRIAGE-- FRG HAS
A PARTICULARLY STRONG INTEREST IN FAMILY REUNIFICATION
AND MARRIAGE, BECAUSE OF SEPARATION PROBLEMS OF MANY
GERMANS. THEY ARE ALSO INTERESTED IN AVOIDING CAVEATS
WHICH MIGHT DIMINISH THE FORCE OF AGREEMENTS ON THESE
SUBJECTS, SUCH AS THE SOVIET PROPOSAL TO MAKE THEM
SUBJECT TO "MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS".

(C) JOURNALISTS-- FRG IS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED
IN OBTAINING A MEANINGFUL TEXT ON WORKING CONDITIONS

FOR JOURNALISTS.

(D) JAMMING-- FRG IS INTERESTED IN SECURING THE STATUS QUO ON RADIO JAMMING.
(E) LIBRARIES/READING ROOMS-- FRG HAS A SPECIAL INTEREST IN FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF LIBRARIES/READING ROOMS FOR FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS, AND HAS GIVEN IT STRONG SUPPORT.

7. FOLLOW-UP-- FRG POSITION ON FOLLOW-UP HAS GROWN MORE RESERVED SINCE SCHMIDT AND GENSCHER TOOK OFFICE. THEY NOW APPEAR TO BE MORE CLOSELY ALIGNED WITH THE FRENCH IN FAVORING AN INTERIM PERIOD BEFORE FINAL DECISION ON FOLLOW-UP IS TAKEN.

8. LEVEL OF STAGE III--FRG LEADERS HAVE BEEN AMONG THE MOST OUTSPOKEN WESTERN STATESMEN IN RECOGNIZING THE PROBABILITY OF A SUMMIT-LEVEL CONCLUSION TO CSCE.DALE

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